

When Is a Child Grown Up?

CHILD STUDY

MARCH, 1930

Where Does Maturity Begin?

LILLIAN SYMES

Educating Our Emotions

ESTHER LORING RICHARDS

Growing Up

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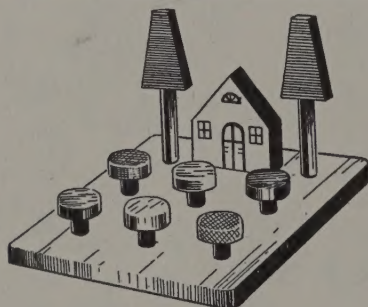
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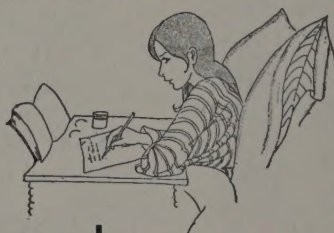
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Child Study

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Where Does Maturity Begin?

LILLIAN SYMES

How a child shall grow up depends in large measure on how his parents have grown up.

THERE can be few questions more important to parents than "When is a child grown up?" because there are few more trying periods in parenthood than that in which the child has achieved most of the outer and visible signs of adulthood with an insufficient quantity of its inner and spiritual qualities. The Armageddon of parenthood is still ahead of those who have not heard: "But I'm old enough to do that now"; "I'm big enough to go out at night alone"; "I ought to be able to do as I please" and "But I'm not a child any more." All these familiar assertions on the part of the girl or boy may be either the legitimate complaints of the mature young person held back by too cautious restraint, or the mere petulant protests of overgrown children impatient of necessary supervision.

If there were some definite age at which the child automatically achieved maturity or if the coming of age in our modern world were as simple as the coming of age on a Pacific Island, what a load would be lifted from the parental mind! Because of this load, it is probably not surprising that so many modern parents are so willing to "step out from under" the adolescent child with a few vague bows in the direction of a half-digested new psychology. Perhaps they have as much to answer for as the traditional nineteenth century parent who tyrannized over his offspring until matrimony or death delivered them.

We are all too painfully aware that years have no

necessary relation to maturity, because we have seen children of fourteen with the emotional control, the intellectual independence and sound judgment of the true adult and we have seen children of thirty with none of these attributes. Even for the intelligent and thoughtful parent who has really studied his psychologies, there can be no pat answers to the problems arising from this question of "When shall I consider my child grown up?" For human nature does not and probably never will follow too closely the patterns set for it by our conditioning. Its capacity for "sportiveness" in a psychologic sense is unlimited, as so many parents can testify. I have in mind a very intelligent friend who is being constantly pained by her fourteen-year-old daughter's excruciating taste in the matter of clothes—which for the last two years the child has been permitted to choose for herself. Totally unaffected by the excellent taste of her parents, the child follows in the footsteps of her most garishly overdressed schoolmates. Recently a household crisis was precipitated by her purchase of very high spiked-heeled slippers upon which she teeters precariously, and

no amount of cajoling or good-natured ridicule can persuade her to abandon them. Even her obvious discomfort has not effected a cure, because she is willing to suffer in order to be as her classmates are. My friend, fearing for her daughter's ankles, is torn between a desire to lay down the law in the matter and a conviction that the child should be allowed to dress as

When is a child grown up?

MATURITY is not dated on any calendar, nor is it achieved at a given day like a twenty-first birthday and the right to vote. The maturity of adulthood is the outcome of lifelong growth. A child begins to grow up the minute he is born. He may be "grown up" at any level, provided he is making use of the potentialities and adjusting to the needs inherent in that stage of his development. In this sense "growing up" is a process which is continuously going on—in infancy, in childhood, in adolescence and on throughout life.

she pleases. This is a type of precocity she had not anticipated and for which she had built up less background in herself and in her daughter than she had for the so-called serious affairs of life.

It is a type of precocity much more common to the modern city-bred child than that of the young Mozart or Menuhin. It is not our children's childishness, or even their occasional precocious maturity, but their pseudo-sophistication that creates the most common problems of adolescence; not their much talked about rebellion against parental authority, but their sheep-like conformity to the mass authority of their contemporaries that tries the patience of the parent eager to foster his child's individuality. Because so much of the experience of the modern city-bred child is vicarious and secondary, he meets life with more knowledge and less wisdom than does the small savage and his arrival at maturity is a more ragged and uneven procedure.

THE POINT OF DEPARTURE

Somewhere, the modern parent realizes, there will come, in lives which do not remain always immature, a point at which parental or other external control must inevitably cease and at which the child must be left to trust to his own judgment. We hope and work toward the end that he may pass this crucial point in comparative safety and without having to pay too high a price for experiment. There is an absolute sense, of course, in which few of us are really grown up, but for practical purposes we are concerned with that approximation of maturity which should normally follow adolescence.

An ability to handle his relationship to the physical world, to move about freely and competently, to show judgment in the arranging of his affairs and resources is probably the most elementary sign of adulthood, in spite of the fact that large numbers of the spiritually elect seem never to have mastered such simple practicalities (and that large numbers of the pseudo-elect scorn to master them). Writing in *Harper's Magazine* about a year ago, I. A. R. Wylie, the English novelist, told the story of a remarkable childhood in which she roamed about England alone, on a bicycle, at the age of eleven, with perfect safety and much enjoyment. This story of a small child's ability to take care of herself, to competently arrange the details of her life and her relations with other people, concluded with the author's declaration of belief that we hold our children back from responsibilities which they are quite able to bear. While the freedom of the young Ida Wylie may not be recommended for indiscriminate usage, we undoubtedly do delay our children's maturity by denying them the physical freedom and responsibility to which they are equal, just as we delay their

emotional maturity by sheltering them from every hint of trouble or tragedy, from the common problems of which they need to be aware. With the adage, "Trouble will come to them soon enough," we shut them out from all experience which will help them to meet it when it comes.

DEVELOPING A SENSE OF REALITY

If the first sign of maturity is the child's ability to orient himself to a world of physical and practical complexities, the second must be his ability to orient his emotional life in a still more complex world of human relationships. We are all familiar with the strong, competent man or woman who goes to pieces in the face of his or her first emotional complication. The ability to face life with a high degree of practical facility is granted to many who remain emotionally infantile. To have attained emotional maturity, the child must have emancipated himself, without repression, from his dependence on his parents or on the parental image, so that he can live happily away from them without continuously seeking for their substitute. He must be able to meet the excitements, disappointments and annoyances of life with some emotional balance and patience. He must have developed sufficient sense of responsibility to estimate the individual and social consequences of his acts, to understand the relationship between cause and effect, and to have struck some workable even though rough balance between personal rights and social necessity.

INTELLIGENCE ALONE IS NOT ENOUGH

The child's intellectual maturity cannot be judged by his independence of parental standards and opinions. Often, the adolescent child merely transfers this dependence to his teachers, his books or his friends. When the child is able to question reasonably the things he has been told, to arrive at independent conclusions which may or may not coincide with those of his elders; when he has learned to think out both academic and personal problems with some degree of clarity and logic and without too much rationalization, his store of information may be slight, but he is intellectually equipped to lead his own life.

When one says that the synthesis of all these qualities is the real sign of maturity, one has not answered the question of the distracted parent who wants to know "how, when and where?" Maturity is a slow and gradual growth and it is difficult to place one's finger on a definite place in its progress and say, "Here, this is it." What we really want to know is—"At what point in my child's career may he be safely left to the ordering of his life and to the consequences of

his own decisions?" Only by watching carefully the development of his individual child and by watching himself as well for subconscious, irrational motivations, can the individual parent make his decision. He can hasten maturity somewhat by the maturity of his

parenthood, or retard and thwart it by his own grown up infantilism. The parent whose wisdom is compounded of intelligence and emotional control will sense, without the aid of a textbook, the moment at which he can say to himself, "Hands off!"

Educating Our Emotions

ESTHER LORING RICHARDS

"Mind is not wholly or even mainly intelligence; it consists largely and in one sense entirely of feelings."—Herbert Spencer

ONE of the addresses which made a great impression on me as an undergraduate at Mount Holyoke College was a sermon by the late Dr. Hodges of the Episcopal Theological Seminary at Cambridge, Massachusetts. His text was Pharaoh's question to Jacob on the occasion of that patriarch's memorable visit to Egypt. "And Pharaoh said unto Jacob—How old art thou?" In this particular instance the young Egyptian ruler was not so much concerned with the hundred and thirty-five years of the old man Jacob as with the fact that these years carried with them a rare and abundant accumulation of qualities known as wisdom.

Every period in history has recognized the valuable intangibilities of wholesome experiencing, and has held them up in its "grand old men" as the goal of maturity. But it has not been very clear as to why years bring the philosophic mind to some people and not to others. Systems of philosophy are offered as theoretical recipes for the achievement of real maturity, oftentimes with complete ignoring of the constitutional stuff out of which the individual is made.

Not long ago I visited an institution for delinquent adolescent girls, a large percentage of whom had the intellectual development of children of eight to ten years. They had been committed because parents and school and society expected them to behave according to their chronological age. Their biological instincts and impulses were those of adolescents; their mechanisms of inhibition were those of children. And this combination will follow them throughout life. Yet on either side of the altar in the dingy chapel of this institution were placards entitled, "Hints for Christian Living," and "How to Grow in Grace." Biology is eloquent with the story of variations so great as to defy classification. Psychology has been called the study of individual differences. The Bible faithfully describes for us the behavior of one-talent, two-talent and five-

talent people. Yet with all nature and human nature proclaiming the great fact of individual variation, we struggle and perish, not only insisting that people are alike but trying to make them so, even carrying the delusion so far as to believe that an act of legislation will do the trick.

In other words the degree of growth and development to be expected of any individual is primarily dependent upon the stuff out of which child and adolescent are made, and whether or not environment and training have been such as to give this constitutional endowment its best chance. The child intellectually handicapped by varying degrees of retardation can be helped by parents and teachers in many practical ways. As soon as the condition is recognized, both home and school must see to it that standards of school grading, of vocational aims, of social strivings, are set within the range of the child's capacities, and that parental pride does not gear individual ambitions beyond individual abilities. Here is a human being who can never be made to face life in an adult manner, but will always be a child in judgment, a child in achievement and a child at heart.

Again there is the child handicapped by varying degrees of personality deviation. The shy, standoffish, in-growing, antisocial boy or girl who is intellectually precocious, and physically adequate, may or may not be helped to grow up to look life's responsibilities between the eyes. One of the great questions before mental hygiene today is how far should parent and teacher push such a child. Again and again we see this kind of child bending and breaking in adolescence, because college or graduate work or a noisy business career is being forced upon him by educational advisors dazzled by the brilliance of a very high intelligence quotient. Psychology has as yet given us no "refinement of standardization" that will enable us to evaluate personality ingredients of the human organism. We

are still confronted with the necessity for patient, conscientious and serious study concerning where behavior reactions lead us. What kinds of individual traits and behavior characteristics make for healthy adjustment to life? How far are these unwholesome traits modifiable, and through what methods of approach? Here are matters which certainly cannot be decided by allying ourselves with partisan viewpoints such as are maintained by those who contend that a child is structurally and psycho-biologically fixed in developmental determinants at five years or ten years of age.

THE WEAR AND TEAR OF DAY-TO-DAY

One of the most important topics to be considered in the process of growing up is that which has to do with the nurture and training of the emotional life. Everyday living for most of us requires an ability to adjust and readjust our wishes and desires to the wishes and desires of those with whom we come in contact. No one is immune from the frictions of daily life. We may know a person for years and regard his life and his surroundings as ideal, only to find that the individual has been living under strains that would long ago have broken you or me—yet we never suspected such conditions until chance brought them to light. There is nothing more trying than "the trivial round, the common task," the little frictions of everyday living that come as we rub shoulders with our neighbors. Most of us have a strain of hero in our make-up that helps us face the big issues without giving way, but few of us can stand the dripping of water on a rock. The nagging wife, the whining child, the domineering husband, the dictatorial boss take toll from our resistance, and leave their visible mark, usually by making us irritated with those who because of age or job or friendship are dependent upon us. Yet one of the most certain signs of maturity is a reasonable amount of emotional control. Emotional debauches do not belong to adult life unless the person is mentally ill or grossly feeble-minded. The man I saw not long ago who fussed and fumed during a train delay, worked himself into a terrible state, took out his watch every few seconds, "laid out" the porter, the brakeman, the conductor, and was beginning on his fellow passengers, was not nearly so grown up as the fourteen-year-old boy who was sitting opposite. As the choleric gentleman paused for breath the boy looked up and said in a decidedly disgusted tone, "Why don't you get out and push?" This boy sat quietly reading throughout a three-hour delay, although a subsequent conversation revealed the fact that he was from a military school and was going home on a short leave of absence, every hour of which he had planned for and was anticipating keenly.

We are prone to think we are guided by our reason

and intelligence, and we cultivate these qualities in our offspring that they may be superior adults who meet well the cares of life. As a matter of fact we are usually guided by our emotions, and if we spent as much time training the child's emotions as we do in training his intellect, we would have men and women far better fitted to meet the strains of life, and bear the burden and heat of the day.

Being truly grown up involves an ability both to adjust ourselves to our surroundings in such fashion as seems best for ourselves and for all others concerned, and at the same time to have a reasonable insight into making decisions for events not on the immediate horizon. There is no set time for an individual to grow up emotionally. Emotional maturity depends in a large part on the training the child has received from parents, teachers, nurses, doctors and all others having to do with the start he gets from infancy on. A year or so ago there appeared in a current magazine a delightful article on "Parents Who Never Grow Up." We know these childish grown-ups who sulk and pout and "won't play" the game of friendship, and parenthood, and matrimonial partnership and business or professional life because they cannot always be "it."

A PICTURE OF DISCONTENT

It is obvious that nobody can have everything he wants or do everything he desires, and one of the first things in which we have to help childhood is the matter of choices. There are far too many "lieber Bruder Augustines" today. Do you remember him? In the nursery rhyme book he is pictured as a small lad standing with scowling face in the midst of a floor strewn with toys. Beneath are the words:

"Mein lieber Bruder Augustine
Will alles was er will,
Und was er will
Das hat er nicht,
Und was er hat
Das will er nicht.
Mein lieber Bruder Augustine
Will alles was er will."

Now the capacity to choose carries with it the ability to judge as to why a thing is or is not desirable, and the power of responsibility to stand by one's choices. This applies to parent as well as child. Stand beside a toy counter in one of Mr. Woolworth's stores and hear mother say, "You may have just one thing, Mary." And see Mary go serenely off with an armful.

We may assist a child to make wise choices by not asking him to make decisions along lines in which he is incapable of judging beyond his present emotional development. There are too many youngsters who

decide their sleeping hours, what they will eat or what they will wear when they are at a stage of development in which they cannot properly realize the significance of their decisions. I saw a small girl of four years appear at a party in a beautiful dress of pale yellow with ribbon and socks to match, and scarlet sandals on her feet. Mother who sat beside me remarked, "Jane insisted on wearing those slippers. I do wish she hadn't. They look so badly but, of course, in such a trivial matter I never inflict my opinion." A number of weeks later I saw this same child sitting up for the first time after a severe bronchitis go into a tantrum because she was made to wear a warm, woolly, red bathrobe in place of the thin, pink overgarment she demanded. Her temperature shot up, and she was back in bed an extra week. My sympathies were with the child.

MISTAKEN KINDNESS

Again you may help a child in his choices by seeing to it that he actually faces the responsibility incident to his choosing when he is called upon to make a legitimate choice. It is not just to allow a child choice and then pet or shield or guard him if he makes a mistake. Such a parental attitude will do much in the way of warping the development of childhood. The K's were a kind, sober, industrious couple looked upon in the community as ideal parents. They had two sons with good intelligence and healthy bodies. Yet one died an outcast from his native state because of bigamy, and the other died in a psychiatric hospital from alcohol and syphilis. These boys were expelled from one school after another. They ran through every cent of the father's property after his death. Neither supported wife or children. They were brought up in a home of thrift, moral practices and good precepts, but it was a home where the father never asserted himself to insist on the carrying out of a single principle of wholesome conduct in his children. The mother petted, coaxed, wept and prayed over these boys, but from earliest childhood she always shielded them from the consequences of any of their activities. After the husband's death she mortgaged her home to pay a check to which one son had forged her name.

While we are teaching childhood to grow up by developing its judgment and responsibility through choice, we should not forget that hand in hand with choice as its co-partner, goes respect for the choice of others. This is something that even a very young child may learn. It is perhaps easiest taught in a nursery school where the child usually quickly accepts his place and rights, and the place and rights of his playmates. But it should not be limited to school or playground. Unfortunately it is all too

common to see a child who gets along happily at school behave like a small bandit or an abominable bore at home. There is a tendency to teach children that the world owes them absolute freedom to live their own lives. Among the phrases that glibly roll off mother's tongue are "the danger of repression," and "the right of every child to express himself." Now it is true that individuals become ill from the festering in their personalities of all sorts of warped viewpoints and unhealthy experiences that need the drainage of ventilative discussion. But granted such facts, it certainly does not follow that the prevention of this damage is to be found in thrusting absolute freedom upon mechanisms of judgment and control when they are still in their most immature state of development. Are the greatest childish pitfalls to be found in repression, or in the mismanagement of guidance? The child who demands that mother spend two hours every evening by her bed until she goes to sleep, who demands special diets of likes and dislikes, who interrupts conversation to impose her personality upon every environment, who refuses to get up from play and greet a guest is not developing her individuality, but is started on a life of slavish exactions from employer, matrimonial partner and even intimate friends.

THE WORLD IS NOT CENTERED IN SELF

Take the case, for instance, of the mother who brings twelve-year-old John for "nervousness and irritability and tantrums due to his father hollering at him." While John was in my waiting room and I was talking to mother in my office, John burst in upon us without knocking. "I'm tired of hanging around here. I'm going out." Mother pleaded, raised her voice and finally asked, "What shall I do?" "Do what you always do," said I. She pursued him down three flights, bringing him back in tears and sulking. "What's the big idea chasing me anyway? I just got hot out there." Here is a bright, healthy boy whose childhood training has made a balking colt out of him. He judges environment by the sole criterion of how environment affects *him*, John.

One of the most discouraging symptoms of individual and family life, as the physician sees it, is the tendency to get all one can out of life regardless of what it does to the other fellow. It is within the family that the child learns his first lesson in social relationships, in a sense of obligation to others with regard to individual behavior. One is appalled in contemplating precipitating factors in adolescent suicidal attempts. Poor report cards, parental friction over staying out at night, a quarrel with a friend over some trivial matter produce a tantrum and a rushing for bichloride as a sort of spite reaction. There is no

premeditation and planning, no prodromal depression, but the activity of a spoiled child indicative of dangerous immaturity in the balancing of self-expression and self-control. Invariably one finds a family life of interparental disharmony and poor idealism constantly

reflected by the daily sheet humorist who describes home as where the garage is, and the place you go away from to enjoy yourself.

The parents of today do not need more light, but more courage to follow the light which they have.

Growing Up

BEATRICE CHANDLER GESELL

Life is a becoming. It is a process the end-product of which is woven in the "loom of time."

TIME and physical growth are mutually dependent. Everyone would concede that changes in bone and structure are indissolubly tied to time. Even the most ambitious parent does not try to stretch out her child's legs or to lengthen his chubby nose by dint of pulling. But how many understand or admit the factor of time in relation to personality development and behavior?

Behavior patterns "are not catastrophic, sudden, unrelated," induced by parental ambition. They are adumbrations, expectations, culminations, dropped from the fingers of yesterday. The child grows up slowly, consistently, quietly. Sometimes it would seem that the modern parent is too aggressive, ambitious and emotional, while nature, on the other hand, in its steady stretch toward maturation, is not pushed from without so much as pulled from within. Nature does not see the goal with opera glasses and then push up hill to reach it. Nature is fertile in pauses, creative in silences, and would not attempt to change a demure violet into a stately lily just to be in the mode.

How slowly we learn. If one cares for a plant one does not start with a preconceived idea of what one would like that plant to be, but puts all one's energy into providing what will minister to its growth. One watches it, studies it, and interferes with it only when necessity demands interference. But in the case of human life the caretaker still considers original nature synonymous with original sin and institutes first relations which are corrective and punitive in their implications. Such an attitude leads to making over what we do not understand and the work is facilitated by that tantalizing finality which only ignorance can create.

Many of the problems which we arduously endeavor to solve are of our own making. They are perhaps due to the fact that we think in terms of the end-product and not in terms of the process of growth itself. Such thinking leads to much conscious educa-

tion; of this the child may remain happily unconscious; or, less happily, it may crystallize inarticulate conflicts into behavior problems.

Do we understand what growth is? It cannot be defined or delimited as fixation, habitude, completion. Nature's only completion is death. It is not even perfection, provocative as that word is. It is change, substitution, organization. It concerns itself with the whole child, or the whole adult, and must, therefore, be thought of in pattern. These patterns change as the patterns of a spring and winter garden. Old liabilities disappear, are shuffled off, and new qualities and possibilities emerge, for growth is not only a process of taking on new aptitudes but of laying off old qualities and attitudes which no longer serve the purposes of growth. To remain at old levels of behavior, still using motives and satisfactions which were just and proper to a previous age, is like passing false coin. It is to remain forever in a chrysalis and never to emerge into the free-winged butterfly.

Life is young and the genius of youth consists largely in the power to change. But change must come through living and experience deep within, not because of parental poultices applied on the surface. This experience is not passive, applied, predigested, tacked on to life, like the fashion models thrown over collapsible frames. Experience is dynamic. The child must go out to it and in an active embrace absorb it into his own being. The I, or self, is not the same today, because it has added to itself the experience of yesterday. Yesterday bears close relation to today because yesterday holds the seed from which tomorrow will flower.

The process of growth is not the staccato of modern unrest. It is more nearly a rhythmical, lawful and sequential fulfillment. Indeed it is reassuring to find that there is a continuity in the whole process of growing up so that nature sometimes resorts to masterful expedients to relieve handicaps.

When the race has accumulated more knowledge

through increased, refined and delicate technique, it may be possible to estimate the amount of individual energy, its rate and its duration. For the present we might begin by measuring each child in terms of himself instead of always in terms of his neighbor. Such a measuring rod would lead to a new evaluation of individual differences. It would mean a new significance for today and less anxiety for tomorrow. Our question would then be, "What does this particular child do today which he could not do yesterday?" Is he enjoying the enrichment and the suggestion today which his yesterday demanded or hoped for? Are we allowing him by a quickening process of growing up to fill out his own picture, or are we setting up a pretty, gilt frame holding the portrait of what we might like him to be and then pulling him vigorously by the ears until he fits into it?

The point of a pyramid depends upon the width and depth of its base. It is impossible to lay down a deep and wide foundation for the child's life unless we immerse him in the whole situation of living through vivid and vital contacts, where neither school nor parent may clip him into a too standardized pattern.

Clinics are crowded with difficulties induced by the effort to impose adult standards and adult techniques upon children who are not ready for them. These difficulties begin, sometimes, in the nursery period where an overemphasis upon the technique involved in the routine of daily living—eating, dressing and sleeping—leads to artificial restraints which reappear as behavior problems and frequently result in a fatigued and maladjusted child. Yet the very young child is primarily interested in the everyday situations and accompaniment of primary functions. His mental health in large measure is dependent upon achieving satisfac-

tions in relation to the exercise of such essential functions of growth. He is active, objective, unconscious—not passive, subjective and self-conscious as many of his guardians are. The associations set up by daily living with these primary interests of food, clothing and shelter are eminently more important to normal health and development than skill in executing them in accordance with adult conventions. The child is sensitively merged with the here and now. Frequently those who care for him are driven by the artificial demands of an unborn tomorrow.

This forcing process leads to an undue emphasis upon habit, and leads to fixation and technique rather than to the establishment of attitudes and satisfactions. It would make industry and perseverance the result of superimposed habits rather than the natural consequence of early satisfactions.

One age projects itself into another and carries with it the imprint of past experience representing a definite stage of growth and of power. Modern life tends to shorten and intensify experience. But do we dare to play with time in the stretching, growing, expectant period of childhood or with space by creating limitations which leave no room to swing the fundamental muscles? Can we prudently so speed up the mechanics of living that the young child loses the developmental tonic of self-help and the informing convictions of trial and error? Time and space still seem to be necessary for normal growth and the lack of organized opportunities to secure these necessities will continue to create behavior problems, because a vicious circle of rewards and punishments takes the place of the creation of new drives and new expressions which make for happiness and growth.

The Ultimate Goal

CÉCILE PILPEL

Neither parents nor children reach maturity alone; they move forward together with those who precede and follow them.

IN DISCUSSING the relation of parents to their children's maturity, it may be well first to clarify some of the things which maturity is *not*, but with which it is likely to be confused.

One of these things is a forced growth of responsibility and independence which is sometimes "wished on" a child by a mother who has strong drives and interests of her own, and who is correspondingly over-

eager to have her child grow up and take care of his own affairs. In such cases premature pressure is often brought to bear upon the child to get himself off to school, to come home alone, to manage his finances and other needs. This is all done in the name of establishing *his* independence, when it is really the *mother's* independence of the child that is her primary though unconscious concern. A child subjected to such

pressure is likely to miss that sense of security, of sympathetic understanding and ever-present refuge at home which is every small child's birthright.

This birthright not only does not interfere with ultimate normal maturity, but is really a prerequisite for it; maturity that has been forced is almost certain to be warped and one-sided, stressing physical and intellectual independence at the expense of emotional development. In attempting to force maturity, parents make the mistake of assuming that these three aspects of it are synonymous, or that they at least proceed synchronously. One mother of this type expected her little son of six to be home from a party precisely at five o'clock. She had given him a watch, she knew that he could tell time, and she felt that this was all the equipment he needed for being at home at the expected hour. She had not the least realization of the excessive *emotional* maturity that she was demanding when she expected so small a child not only to keep the time in mind throughout an exciting afternoon, but also to be able to tear himself away from whatever absorbing activity he might be engaged in when five o'clock came. And yet this same mother would never have thought of sending her two-year-old son to the neighboring farm for the milk just because he was strong enough to walk that distance and to carry a pail. The discrepancy between physical and intellectual maturity is more obvious in the younger child, but it is scarcely more important than that between his actual intellectual maturity and the too great emotional maturity demanded by the mother from the six-year-old.

AVOID HOTHOUSE METHODS

A similar confusion between intellectual and emotional maturity is shown in the present educational tendency to force children along intellectual lines, to burden them with responsibilities which require a maturity of judgment, a true weighing of values which can be based only on experience. Student government, for instance, often coupled with power of discipline, demands more than intellectual maturity. In some of the "new" schools where children are allowed to pass from activity to activity, according to the mood of the moment, and regardless of their fitness for self-direction, the result is an attempt to force maturity on a purely intellectual basis.

It is not of such artificial, one-sided stuff that true maturity is made. True maturity involves emotional as well as physical and intellectual independence and equilibrium. Demands for spurious maturity are not our only stumbling blocks. In helping children toward freedom and independence, parents may have not only difficulties due to these confusions as to the nature of maturity itself but also difficulties caused by conflict

within themselves. Let us consider briefly two types of parental conflict which are perhaps among the most important.

The first is the unconscious desire, which motivates many, many parents, to relieve their own lives in their children by remolding life in their children into patterns "nearer to the heart's desire." Children subject to such a strain cannot mature normally. Instead of maturing, they often retreat into rebellion, although they may remain quite unconscious of the fact that what they are rebelling against is the parental urge for reincarnation.

FIGHTING FOR LIFE

One such child was Joan, an adolescent girl in her second year in high school, who was playing truant and failing in her studies although she had previously done good work, and although intellectually she was good college material. In talking Joan's difficulties over with her mother, it was found that the latter wished Joan to prepare for a college in their home city, which she herself had attended for a time, while Joan wished to attend a different college, in another city. It further appeared that the circumstances of the mother's early marriage and subsequent economic and domestic difficulties had completely thwarted her intellectual ambitions and that she now, though unconsciously, wished to carry them out through her child. Joan, also unconsciously to a large extent, rebelled against being utilized as an extension of some one else, even if that some one were her mother, and reacted by truancy and sulkiness so extreme as to make her fail in her studies. This diagnosis was corroborated by the fact that as soon as it was made clear and reasonable to the mother that Joan should go to the college of her own choice, away from home, where she could fulfill the needs of her own personality, and Joan was told of the change in the arrangements, her school work picked up at once, and she acquired a new lease of life.

A COLLEGE EDUCATION—FOR WHOM?

Even when the change of plan had been decided upon, however, and the need for it had been explained, the mother showed that she had not yet completely freed herself from the desire to relieve her own life in her child, for at the end of the conversation with the advisor her face lit up, and she said, "And perhaps when Joan goes to S——, I can go too and take some more courses!"

Deep rooted tendencies of this kind are difficult to eradicate even when they have been intellectually clarified and brought almost completely into conscious-

ness. This unnecessary conflict in the child, between affection for the parent and a violent urge toward freedom, interferes seriously with the normal maturing process. It often calls out regression into immaturity, and is utilized as a childish way of evading responsibility, and of side-stepping, as in the case of Joan's truancy.

Another tendency of this kind—a very common and far-reaching one—is the unconscious desire of many widowed or unhappily married women to seek husband substitutes in their sons, that is, to call out protective husband attitudes in them, thus depriving them of normal maturity through the more casual relationships of adolescent boys and girls. Under similar circumstances fathers also seek these satisfactions from their daughters. Since many marriages are subject to incomplete fulfillment, it is necessary for both the parents to become aware of these mechanisms and to guard against devastating their children's normal maturing because of their own disappointments.

If the mother becomes conscious of and manages to adjust her own difficulties by finding other emotional outlets and satisfactions, it will be possible for her both to gain perspective on her own situation and also to discuss it frankly with her son without making him feel that she depends upon him unduly for what she has failed to find elsewhere. In thus freeing herself she will also free him and help him to maturity through her own difficult experience.

"LIKE FATHER, LIKE SON" HAS PITFALLS

Sometimes the very quality and high caliber of the parent may hamper the maturing of the child. Surely parents are in a predicament when even their outstanding abilities may adversely affect the full flowering of their children's. Research and our own observations, however, point a warning in that direction. Yet when so much is asked of parents, surely we need not also demand that for the sake of the development of their children, they must hide their own light under a bushel. Awareness, however, of the implications of such a situation will call out attitudes and behavior on the part of the parent that will go far to prevent the possible undesirable effects on their children of their own personality make-up. The very competent or beautiful mother (still more the mother who is both) will have to be especially on her guard to help her growing daughter to realize the full maturity of her own powers in order that she may not regress because of her inability or imagined inability to equal or surpass her mother. The same of course holds true of the son whose father has outstanding abilities and success which have been proved and acknowledged.

The first prerequisite of normal maturity in the

child is a mature parent, and parenthood to a large degree takes care of itself in those individuals who are fully developed and emotionally poised. Such a goal calls first for self-knowledge and then for continuous adaptation to the demands of life, frankly and actively undertaken in the light of this knowledge. Only then can the parent clear the path for the maturing of the child.

HOME AS A SOURCE OF EXPERIENCE

These are very real problems inherent in all family life, and there are still other aspects of child life which favor or hinder the maturing process. The unreality of our school life, for instance, in many cases artificially lengthens childhood. Our high schools and colleges as a rule present life under very select and sheltered conditions so that the child or adolescent, under the old excuse that he is being "prepared" for life, does not actually live in his own time and generation. He meets people, it is true, but they are a selected group carefully chosen. He meets problems, but they are cut to his measure and oversimplified.

College life today is in this sense a retreat from the realities of life, and is likely to delay the maturing process. It is particularly essential, therefore, that the home environment offer real opportunities at every stage of the child's development. Life outside of the home—the life of school, work, friends—can do its part to amplify and broaden individual development, provided the child is healthily adjusted in his family relationships. But no set of factors can do so much to help the child gain confidence in his ability to do as can the family. Parents are in a strategic position to judge what responsibilities are commensurate with the individual's years, his physical, mental and emotional capacities, and to introduce him to the real problems of adult life at first hand. The thoughtful and self-contained parent is often too reticent with his children as they grow older, possibly through a habit engendered by long years of self-control. Youth may profit much by sharing in the *real* responsibilities and perplexities of parents, economic and otherwise, as well as by discussions of a more impersonal nature concerning their views of life's values and of the individual's place in presentday society.

In connection with the other human relationships in family life, we can help children to work out their parental relationship not necessarily on a basis of "palship" but rather on a basis of reciprocal contributions of what the older and younger generation have to offer to one another. The relationship of maturing children to one another can be developed on a basis of give and take and of appreciation of the qualities and abilities of the respective individuals. Companionship

ship of this sort between brothers and sisters at home paves the way for further adjustments in school and college life, and constitutes the earliest training ground in social relationships.

If children have progressively matured, the time will come when they themselves can successfully and wisely affect the family, in their own right as it were, as integrated personalities, even in situations where one of the parents has never fully matured.

We may consider our task as parents well done if we have helped the child to attain adulthood with his sense of security in his own powers undamaged by

feelings of inadequacy and habitual failure. Such a goal may be regarded as adequately attained when the child has achieved his own vocation, his own avocation, his own philosophy, and an understanding of his parents as individual human beings, when he is free from immature fixations, and also from overcompensations in the form of excessive "independence." Maturity so conceived is the best possible assurance that the young adult will eventually make his own contribution not only to his family but to society and to the new generation which he in his turn must help to take up the task.

The Discipline of Sex

EDWARD SAPIR

Adulthood presupposes coming to satisfactory terms with every phase of one's own personality.

Because of its pertinence to any discussion of approaching maturity, this analysis is reprinted—through the courtesy of author and publisher—from "The American Mercury" for April, 1929.

WE ARE in the habit of complimenting ourselves on the healthy attitude which is coming to prevail in America toward questions of sex. There is some justification for this, for it is obvious that an attitude that looks upon sex as intrinsically evil, and that seeks to rescue it from condemnation by confining it into conventionally fixed and approved channels, is a repressive and unhealthy one. But I am not willing to grant, for all that, that the present excited and puzzled attitude, shifting back and forth in a single individual's mind all the way from orthodox acceptance of the restraints of Puritanism to a reasoned religion of promiscuity, is a healthy attitude. The very notion of health implies the presence of a certain balance and of a fundamental surety of the significant outlines of behavior. The most that one can say for the sex mind of radical America is that it is in a state of transition and that a certain willingness to experiment dangerously is in the long run a safer thing than a premature striking of the balance. This may be a just interpretation of the few; of the many who bless you for a formula for noble weakness it is but psychology gulled.

A realistic view of actual sex opinion and sex behavior leads to the feeling that on every hand life is being measurably cheapened by an emotional uncertainty in matters of sex, matters that no healthy society

can long brook uncertainty of. An individual can create true personal values only on the basis of those accepted by his society, but when nothing is accepted, he has no room for the growth of any values that are more than empty formulæ.

The present sex unrest has been nibbling at more or less reliable information reported by anthropologists from primitive communities. Any primitive community that indulges, or is said to indulge, in unrestricted sex behavior is considered an interesting community to hear from. Such a community is at once equated with "primitive man" in general and has the great merit of bringing us back to that primary and glorious man that wishful romanticists have always been dreaming about.

MISTAKEN ANALOGIES

It does not seem to occur to the readers of excited books about pleasure-loving Samoans and Trobriand Islanders that perhaps these communities are not as primitive as they seem, that there are perhaps other primitive groups that have developed an ideology of sex that is not so very different from that of our happily extinct Victorian ancestors, and that in any event there may be social determinants in such societies that make the question of value in sex conduct of lesser urgency than among ourselves. It is true that many primitive societies allow of erotic and marital arrangements that shock the sensibilities of our conservatives. But what should be denied is that sex conduct is truly unregulated even in these societies. A closer examination shows that the community has certain very definite

ideas as to what is allowable and what is not allowable.

But it is simply not true that sex freedom is the norm for primitive societies. It is, as a matter of fact, very much the exception, and the presence of sex taboos, of institutionalized deferments of sexual gratification, and of all manner of sex ideals, so far from justifying us in wringing our hands at the perversity of mankind, might more rationally be expected to lead to a psychological inquiry into the reason why human beings have so persistently gone out of their way to put obstacles in the way of the immediate satisfaction of the sex impulse. A certain type of historian is ready with his answer. He tells us that these restrictions have merely come in as a by-product of the conception that women are a form of property. This is one of those theories that are too plausible to be true. The institutionalizing of marriage in terms of property can be amply illustrated in both primitive and sophisticated societies—this no one doubts—but we are far from having the right to take it for granted that ideas of ownership are the root of all sex restrictions. We know too little as yet about the psychological causes of sexual modesty and secrecy, of the universal dread of sex squandering, of the irresistible drive to hedging sex about in one way or another, but we may be certain that these causes are not of a trivial nature and that they are not to be abrogated by a smart and trivial analysis of sex by intellectuals who have more curiosity than intuition.

BEYOND THE IMMEDIATE

For reasons which can only be dimly guessed at, man seems everywhere and always to have felt that sex was a quintessential gratification that it was not well to secure at too easy a price, that it held within it sources of power, of value, that could not be rudely snatched. In short, mankind has always known that sex needed to be conserved in large part and made over into more than sex. Freud's theory of sublimation has always been man's intuition, and sex has always restlessly striven to become love.

Nothing seems more difficult than to convince the all-wise modern that the emotion of love, quite aside from the momentary fulfillment of desire, is one of the oldest and most persistent of human feelings. It is far from being the secondary or adventitiously superimposed thing that it is so often said to be. On the contrary, much that is generally interpreted as primitive, because unromantic, may well be interpreted as a superstructure imposed upon the sex life by considerations of a relatively sophisticated nature—economic, social, religious, or political.

What is the meaning of this strange passion of love, which crops up at all times and in all places and which

the modern rationalist finds it so difficult to allow except as a superficial amplification of the sex drive under the influence of certain conventional ideas and habits? It is as difficult to state clearly what the emotion consists of as it is easy, if one is willing to be but honest for a moment, to comprehend it. The sex nucleus is perfectly obvious and no love that is not built up around this nucleus has psychological reality. But what transforms sex into love is a strange and compulsive identification of the loved one with every kind of attachment that takes the ego out of itself. The intensity of sex becomes an unconscious symbol for every other kind of psychic intensity, and the intensity of love is measured by the intensities of all non-egoistic identifications that have been transferred to it. It is useless to argue that this is madness. In a sense it is, and we have yet to learn of a value or an ideal that is not potential madness.

BACKGROUND OF REVOLT

Why is it, then, that a sentiment which is as much at home in our despised Victorian yesterday as in the obscure life of a remote Indian tribe needs to be discussed with so much apology today? There is a complex of factors which explains the present temper and we need only examine them to make us realize how transitory is likely to be that temper.

First of all, the old Puritan morality, which looked upon the sex act as inherently sinful, is still too painfully near to us, and the revolt which was bound to set in sooner or later has concentrated all of its energies on the annihilation of this notion of sin. Naturally enough, it has had little patience with the arduous task of retaining that in the inherited ideology of sex which was psychologically sound, or at any rate, capable of preservation as a value without violence to nature. What has happened is that the odious epithet of sin has been removed from sex, but sex itself has not been left a morally indifferent concept. The usual process of over-correction has invested sex with a factitious value as a romantic and glorious thing in itself. The virus of sin has passed into love, and the imaginative radiance of love, squeezed into the cramped quarters formerly occupied by sin, has transfigured lust and made it into a new and phosphorescent holiness. Love, a complicated and inevitable sentiment, is for the moment sickening for lack of sustenance.

But the anti-Puritan revolt is much more than a revolt against sex repression alone. It is a generalized revolt against everything that is hard, narrow, and intolerant in the old American life, and which sees in sex repression its most potent symbol of attack. Many young men and women of today who declare themselves sexually free are really revolting against quite

other than sex restrictions. They glory in the reputed "sin" because they see it as a challenge to the very notion of repression.

The revolt complex is powerfully strengthened by an insidious influence exerted by modern science. It has been one of the cheerless, yet perfectly natural, consequences of the scientific view of life that nothing in human conduct is supposed to have reality or meaning except in the ultimate physiological terms that alone describe life or are said to describe life to its scientific analyst. If life is nothing but physiology, how can love be other than sex, with such immaterial reinterpretations as no hard-headed modern need take seriously?

Even more important, at least in America, is the great psychological need of the modern woman to extend and make firm her symbols of economic independence. Every attitude and every act that challenges the old doctrine of psychic sex difference is welcomed, no matter where it leads. The most obvious differences of motivation between the sexes are passionately ignored, and a whole new mythology has been evolved which deceives only the clever.

The psychological falsity of these attitudes and liberations is manifest enough and leads to a new set of most insidious repressions which owe their origin to the subordination of the natural impulse to reason. It is questionable if these new and hardly recognized repressions, these elaborate maskings of the unconscious by the plausible terminologies of "freedom," of "cumulative richness of experience," of "self-realization," do not lead to an even more profound unhappiness than the more normal subordination of impulse to social convention that we hear so much about.

FALSE PSYCHOLOGIES OF LOVE

The truth of the matter is that in the life of the emotions one can make too few as well as too many demands, and the life of love is naturally no exception to the rule. Men and women who expect too little of each other, who are too nobly eager to grant each other privileges and self-existences that the unconscious does not really want, invite a whole crop of pathological developments. The chronic insistence on the notions of freedom and self-expression is itself contrary to the natural current of the sex life, which flows away from the ego and seeks a realization for the ego which is in a sense destructive of its own claims. Sex as self-realization unconsciously destroys its own object by making of it no more than a tool to a selfish end.

A further consequence of an uncritical doctrine of sex freedom is the lack of true psychological intimacy between lovers and between husband and wife. Abstract freedom is poor soil for the growth of love. It leads to an unacknowledged suspicion and watchful-

ness and a never-satisfied longing, which in the end kill off the finer and the more sublimated forms of passion. The modern man seeks to save the situation by analyzing sex attachment into the fulfillment of sex desire plus such intimacy as constant companionship can give.

This is, of course, totally false psychologically. It is merely a feeble synthesis of dissociated elements arrived at by an inadequate analysis. The easy physical accessibility of the sexes to each other at an early age, the growth of a spurious "pal" spirit between them, with sex itself thrown in as a bribe or as a reward—all this, so far from bringing the sexes together in a finer intimacy, has exactly the opposite effect—of leaving them essentially strangers to each other, for they early learn just enough to put a more intuitive seeking and longing stupidly to sleep. Is it a wonder that the sexes unconsciously hate each other today with an altogether new and baffling virulence?

WHERE NO ONE STANDS ALONE

In estimating the significance of the social and psychological currents which are running in the sphere of sex today, it is important to do justice to both cultural and personal factors. It is dangerous to ignore either. Our culture of today is not the creation of the moment, but the necessary continuation of the culture of yesterday, with all its values. These values need revision, but they cannot be overthrown by any scientific formula. The intellectuals who declare them dead are very much more at their mercy than they care to know. It is not claimed that all individuals can or should make identical adjustments, but in an atmosphere in which no norms of conduct are recognized and no values are maintained, no man or woman can make a satisfactory individual adjustment.

It is peculiarly dangerous in dealing with the sex problem to let petty verbal analogies do the work of an honest analysis. The problem of jealousy is an excellent illustration of this. Owing to the highly individualistic and possessive philosophy of so much of our life, the image of possessiveness has been plausibly but insidiously transferred to the marital relation, finally to the relation of love itself. Sex jealousy is therefore said to imply possessiveness. As one emancipated young woman once expressed it to me, it would be an insult to her and her husband to expect fidelity of either of them. Yet what is more obvious than this—that jealousy can no more be weeded out of the human heart than the shadows cast by the objects of this world can be obliterated by a mechanism that gives them an eternal luminosity? Every joy has its sorrow, every value has its frustration, and the lover who is too noble to be jealous has always been justly suspected by

mankind of being no lover at all. It is not the province of men and women to declare out of their intellectual pride what emotions they care to sanction as legitimate or admirable. They can only try to be true to their feelings and to accept the consequences of the fulfillment or denial of these feelings in the terms which nature sees fit to impose.

The supposed equivalence of sex jealousy to the emotion of resentment at the infringement of one's personal property rights is entirely false. Sex jealousy, in its purest form, is essentially a form of grief, while the combative feeling aroused by theft or other invasion of one's sovereignty is of course nothing but anger. Grief and anger may be intermingled, but only a shallow psychologist will identify them. Perhaps the linguistic evidence is worth something on this point. It is remarkable in how few languages the concept of sex jealousy is confused with the notion of envy. Our use of the English word *jealous* in two psychologically distinct senses has undoubtedly been responsible for a good deal of loose thinking and faulty analysis. It is an insult to the true lover to interpret

his fidelity and expectation of fidelity as possessiveness and to translate the maddening grief of jealousy into the paltry terminology of resentment at the infringement of property rights. These crowning psychological absurdities were reserved for the enlightened mentality of today.

We are beginning to understand how much we are swayed in the unconscious by obscure but potent symbolisms. There is a certain logic or configurative necessity about these symbolisms which it is very hard to put into words, but which the intuitively-minded feel very keenly. Sex conduct offers singularly potent examples of the importance of such symbolisms and of their arrangement in a series of cumulative values. I refer to the general symbolism of human intimacy.

Every normal individual is unconsciously drawn toward or repelled by another individual, even if the overt contact is but brief and superficial. These feelings of intimacy and withdrawal have their symbolisms in gesture and expression, which differ from individual

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Signposts of Growth

"Nothing is more sure than the seasons, nothing more variable than the days."—E. A. Kirkpatrick

ONE of the constructive by-products of science as a background for present-day thinking is the concept of maturity on which this discussion is based. Not until we began to command some facts about the human machine could we form a realistic picture of how it works. Research has found that development and change are lifelong and continuous; maturity is the fulfillment of reasonable expectations at any and every level.

The present point of view about human development and the attainment of maturity is compounded out of two principles which at first seem mutually contradictory, but which, in reality, are but the two sides of the same idea. These are: first, that it is possible to formulate on a research basis certain standard expectations of psychological development and of behavior, just as there are normal expectations of physical growth; and second, that individual differences always occur and no personality should be expected to coincide at all points with the standard.

The formulation of standards has been of incalculable value in helping us to know what to expect and what not to expect of children—at two, or six, or ten. But it should not imply standardization. Dr. Karl

Menninger, in the introduction to his challenging exposition of "The Human Mind," reviewed elsewhere in this issue, says that he can imagine nothing worse than the current ambition to be "normal." Just as we all have the same features and yet no two of us look alike, so also it is human to be psychologically different from everyone else. "Be yourself" is really good advice.

What, then, is practicable and helpful for parents who wish to help their children to grow toward maturity through progressive adjustments? They need to know the general trends and characteristics of each age in order that they may not expect too much—or too little. If extreme deviations from normal behavior occur they need to realize the significance and implications of deviation. It should not, for instance, be a matter of grave concern if a two-year-old child has not achieved a dry bed, regardless of what the neighbor's baby does in this respect. But it is a warning signal when the same behavior persists beyond about the fourth year. On the other hand, it is too much to expect a five-year-old to get dressed promptly alone though he may be able to go through all the motions; but the girl of fourteen who "has to have mama comb

her hair" is really in a bad way. Nearly twenty years ago in "The Individual in the Making," E. A. Kirkpatrick repeatedly emphasized the practical significance for parents of this interplay of individual variation and standard behavior.

The researches of many psychologists have continued to add proof to his analysis. H. L. Hollingworth, in "Mental Growth and Decline," which was published in 1927, reviews preceding findings as to stages of human development, notably those of Kirkpatrick and of Thorndike, which are similar but do not coincide. To the six stages outlined by each of these authorities, Hollingworth adds earlier and later periods to cover the whole span of human life.

TEN AGES OF MAN

Period	Description
1. <i>The Germ Plasm.</i>	—The career and permutations of germinal elements, representing biological heredity, and the contribution of determinants by near and remote ancestry.
2. <i>The Fetal Period.</i>	—The life of the embryo, from the moment of conception or ovum fertilization, to the time of birth.
3. <i>The Infant.</i>	—The "neonate" or newborn individual, in its first few weeks or months of life.
4. <i>The Babyhood Age.</i>	—The first three years of life, up to the point which, if the individual does not intellectually pass, he remains an "idiot."
5. <i>Questioning Age.</i>	—Centering at about the time of customary school entrance, at the sixth year, the point which, if the individual does not intellectually pass, he is characterized as an "imbecile."
6. <i>"Big Injun" Age.</i>	—Culminating at about the eleventh year, the point which, if the individual does not intellectually pass, he is described as a "moron."
7. <i>"The Awkward Age," Adolescence.</i>	—The typical high school age, terminating at or around the eighteenth year, with wide variations.
8. <i>Maturity.</i>	—The long stretch of economic, political and domestic responsibility, running up to seventy years or thereabout.
9. <i>Senescence.</i>	—The period of decline, and in some cases of involution or senile decay.
10. <i>Postmortem Age.</i>	—That period, brief or prolonged, in which the personal influence of the individual persists and the institutions he has had a part in establishing remain effective.

Much has been, and much remains to be, done to fill in the picture of each of these stages. With increasing realization that intellectual development does

not tell the whole story, more effort is being made to relate intelligence and intelligence testing to other phases of development. Norsworthy and Whitley have worked out "A Cross Section of Child Life at Five and at Eleven," in their "Psychology of Childhood," which suggests the scope and drive of the developing personality. The quoted passages are illustrative rather than exhaustive.

"Moral and social habits reasonably to be expected at this age [five] include regularity and control of bodily functions, cooperation in cleanliness of person, the use of 'please,' and 'thank you' and other simple courtesy forms, handling of spoon and fork simultaneously, use of handkerchief, some inhibition of impulses to cry when disappointed or hurt, of impulses to kick and shriek when angry, of impulses to handle any attractive object known to be either another's property or dangerous, some sustained effort to stop sulks, or crossness, or contrariness, and to be pleasant, polite, courageous. . . . When playing with other children they join in an undefined group, *i.e.*, any number can play, and there is an absence of competition. It is play rather than a game with organization and rules. Rhythm and repetition in speech and song are prominent characteristics of the many traditional games played about this time.

"Another marked feature of their play is the constant activity indulged in from sheer enjoyment of it rather than from any idea of acquiring skill in a movement. Five-year-olds love to jump, roll, slide, dig, climb, run, pound, throw, lift, and use their whole bodies in large movements; but there is no desire to run fast, to throw hard, to jump high, nor to excel the next child in these abilities.

BY WAY OF CONTRAST

" . . . Through this association, children by the age of eleven have developed a sense of honor and loyalty to the group that condemns tale-bearing or lying to one's friends, but upholds the lie to enemies or mere outsiders, especially on behalf of one's friends. They have acquired also a contempt for physical cowardice, an admiration for fearlessness, grit, and ability to endure hardship. They will condemn any abuse of the really little by the big, in spite of the frequent bullying of those not so little, and the thoughtless cruelty toward insects, frogs, and very small animals. . . . Although some supervision will still be necessary, children of this age can be held responsible for the entire daily care of their own persons and immediate belongings, whatever new habits may have to be acquired in the next few years. . . .

"The kind of play enjoyed at eleven years old is almost never solitary, but has a strong social characteristic. It is usually in the form of a game rather than free play, with definite rules, a pur-

pose, a beginning, and an end. In type of organization, it is generally an undefined group or double group, with a very slight beginning of co-operative teamwork toward the end of the period. Chiefly, however, the feeling of rivalry dominates, each player desiring to 'star' in his own part even if the contest is between groups. Sports and games of skill, both single and social, are in great favor. Children want to see who can pitch a ball hardest, send it highest, jump the farthest, skip longest, run fastest, win most marbles, do the most fancy movements in roller skating, slide most swiftly, etc. The aim in the stunt is usually speed or accuracy, less often ease, least often grace. Running is a prominent feature of a great many games, though girls begin to slacken in this respect."

PROGRESSIVE RESEARCH

Progress continues to be made toward developing scientifically safeguarded data on the development of infants, like that of Dr. Arnold Gesell of the Yale Psycho-Clinic recorded in his two books, "The Mental Growth of the Pre-School Child" and "Infancy and Human Growth." This, and other carefully set up research centers are systematizing their findings as to the behavior and development of the early years so that it is now possible to know whether a particular child falls within the norm or deviates one way or another. The photographic records, as well as the text of Dr. Gesell's books, give a vivid and realistic presentation of growth.

The detail involved in such projects is obviously so enormous that it will be long before data can be organized in the same way for every age level. But part of the significance of such work as that at the Yale Clinic lies in what it points to all along the line. Such studies at various age levels are being carried on simultaneously in many centers. Until they are available as general information, much that is helpful will be found in a study of kindergarten and first grade children made some years ago by Dr. Agnes Low Rogers of Teachers College, Columbia University. Some of the specific skills and performances catalogued in her "Tentative Inventory of Habits" may now be open to question (including this concept of *habit**); many are certainly dependent upon specific parental training and example. But these reservations do not lessen the usefulness of forming a picture of what real five- and six-year-olds can actually do. The following are representative of this listing:

Uses handkerchief properly.
Covers mouth when sneezing or coughing.
Makes a proper use of drinking apparatus.

Obeys the teacher or any one in authority.
Eats with mouth shut.
Keeps floor clean.
Keeps desk, toys, shelves and lockers in order.
Does not waste materials.
Is careful with books.
Values and takes care of things he has made.
Does not tattle.
Waits for his turn.
Plays fair and works fair.
Settles difficulties without appealing to the teacher.
Lets one child talk at a time.
Obeys the rules of the group.
Is willing to take part in group activities.
Is good-natured under trying circumstances.
Comprehends when first addressed.
Performs errands satisfactorily.
Dramatizes a simple story.
Narrates a simple story.
Enjoys humorous situations.
Listens attentively to nursery rhymes and stories.
Helps to make usable rules.
Concentrates on his work.
Holds his project in mind until it is completed.
Appreciates success with school work.
Puts wraps and rubbers in the proper place.
Puts on and removes wraps quickly.
Takes off and puts on his own rubbers.
Performs physical activities such as skipping, galloping, hopping, running, marching, dancing.
Carries liquids carefully.
Ties shoe strings, sashes, ribbons, etc.
Handles crayon, paintbrush and pencil properly.
Uses needle and scissors.
Can use spade, shovel, fork, trowel, rake, hoe.
Can hammer, saw, plane.
Taps to music.
Does not use baby talk.

FOR FURTHER READING

The following books contain authoritative data on questions related to growth and development:

Andrus, Ruth—An Inventory of the Habits of Children from Two to Five Years of Age.
Gesell, Arnold—Infancy and Human Growth.
Gesell, Arnold—The Mental Growth of the Pre-School Child.
Hollingworth, H. L.—Mental Growth and Decline.
Kirkpatrick, E. A.—The Individual in the Making.
Meek, Lois Hayden—Interests of Young Children.
Norsworthy, N., and Whitley, M. T.—Psychology of Childhood.
Rogers, Agnes L.—A Tentative Inventory of Habits.

ZILPHA CARRUTHERS FRANKLIN.

* See CHILD STUDY, November, 1929. Habits—What Are They?

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Editorial

To accept the point of view that there is a maturity of childhood, is not to hark back to the mediæval belief that children are but men in little. Nothing is a more complete antithesis of the present viewpoint than old paintings—those of Velasquez, for instance—which show children in the tragic elegance of their elders. But as society has swung over to a realization of childhood as having intrinsic qualities and values, there has sometimes been a tendency to stretch it out longer than nature intended. Our whole social system, especially our schools and our conventions about sex, have had to defend themselves against the charge of treating as children young people who were anxious, or ought to be, to enter the adult world. Graham Wallas, the great English political philosopher, has said, for instance, that the greatest hope of meeting the frequent crises of high pressure living will be in utilizing the thinking power of youth. Mr. Wallas cites such varied examples as Christ in the Temple, Benjamin Franklin entering Philadelphia with only a loaf of bread under his arm, and John Stuart Mill out-arguing his father's philosophical friends as examples of what the 'teens can do when luck gives them a chance. Mrs. Symes, in this issue of CHILD STUDY, also speaks of the ability of some "children" to function on adult levels. But in this, as in other matters, the exceptions prove the rule. Utilizing to their utmost the less conspicuous but far more universal potentialities of the common run of adults is more practicable.

We can hardly sit back and expect an occasional youth, no matter how gifted, to "save" the world.

The concept of maturity as a lifelong process holds promise not only of better adjustment during childhood and youth but also during adulthood itself. Recent researches, especially those of Dr. Thorndike, have shown that ability to learn certain subjects reaches its height at about twenty years of age, and remains there for some years to decline at a slow rate of about one per cent a year.

Since human beings who are average or better do profit by experience, the fruits of doing and being may well make up for or even outweigh this slow decline. It is a substitution of wisdom for pure learning.

Of course individuals vary enormously in this respect—from the mental arrest of the moron to the prolonged plasticity of the seer. To parents and other grown-ups who sometimes feel at a loss in the presence of a new and pressing generation, this is both challenge and promise—challenge to measure up to their own continued opportunities for growth, and promise that increasing maturity is always possible.

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News and Notes

In celebration of five years' successful achievement, the Chicago Association for Child Study and Parent

Mid West Conference on Social Adjustments of Childhood

Education plans a three-day conference at Palmer House, Chicago, for March 6-8, to discuss "The Emotional Life of the Child." The tentative program includes talks by Abraham Myerson, Mary Cover Jones, Otto Rank, Floyd Allport, Augusta Bronner, Benjamin Gruenberg, Jessie Taft, Horace Kallen and William Marston. Round table discussions will deal with "Various Experiments in Emotions" and "Experiences in the Child's Emotional Life."

The Long Island University at Brooklyn is offering two courses on the "Normal Development of Children and Child Guidance," under the direction of Helen T. Woolley, Director of the Child Development Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, and Richard H. Paynter, head of the department of psychology in Long Island University, with the cooperation of other specialists in their respective fields. The first course which began on February 12 will give a general survey of the subject. On April 4, there will be a second course of more detailed study.

The Sixtieth Annual Meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association met at Atlantic City, New Jersey, on February 22 to 27. "Education in the Spirit of Life" was the theme of the convention. The topics under discussion showed how education must be efficient, progressive, cooperative, develop social spirit and train for leisure. The exhibit, the pageant on "Recreative Living" which depicted the development of leisure time, and seven brief speeches on "the Achievements of American Education," were outstanding features of the convention.

An interesting collection of paintings and drawings by the children of the Ethical Culture Branch School will be shown at the Art Center, 65 East 56th Street, New York City, from March 17 through March 29. The children range from five to ten years of age and practically every child will be represented. The individualism of the child in art will be emphasized, and will be illustrated not only by the free choice of subject, but by personal

treatment and selection of medium. In addition to these more personal creations, group collaborations will be shown in "scenery" for plays and other group projects.

The Committee on Leisure Activities for Children of the Child Study Association of America will hold an exhibit of art for children at Headquarters from March 18 to April 1, inclusive. The exhibit will include toys, books, pictures, rugs, materials

and furniture carefully chosen for their decorative quality. A talk on "Art for Children" will open the exhibit.

The growing interest in child study is reflected in the new department recently inaugurated by the *Delineator*. Mrs. Marion M. Miller, Associate Director of the Child Study Association of America, who has been asked to edit this Department of Child Training, has planned a series of articles by specialists and leaders in parent education which is attracting wide attention. Dr. Benjamin C. Gruenberg's discussion of Sex Education which appeared in the February issue has already brought about five thousand replies. Those who will contribute in the near future include Augusta Alpert, Ph.D.; Ada Hart Arlitt, author of "Psychology of Infancy and Early Childhood," and Professor of Child Care and Training at the University of Cincinnati; Dr. W. E. Blatz, of the University of Toronto, and co-author of "Parents and the Pre-School Child"; Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Director of the Child Study Association of America; Mrs. Ellen Eddy Shaw, Curator of Elementary Instruction, Brooklyn Botanic Garden, and Caroline B. Zachry, Director, Department of Psychology and Mental Hygiene, State Teachers College, Upper Montclair, New Jersey.

A branch of the Intercommunity Child Study Committee has recently been organized in Washington,

D. C., with Charlotte Atwood as chairman. The purpose of this committee is the extension of child study and parent education activities among the Negroes. As her initial committee activity, Miss Atwood has organized a group of sixty, including principals, department heads and teachers of the Washington public schools, who are subscribing to a series of ten lectures on child study and parent education which is being given by Miss Margaret J. Quilliard, Director of Field Work of the Child Study Association of America. Another committee project is already being considered.

Intercommuni- ty Child Study in Washington

Children's Paintings on Exhibit

The first issue of *Child Development*, a new periodical on child study and training, is scheduled to appear in March. This quarterly publication will contain the results of research in all fields of child study from the standpoint of mental and physical development. Dr. Buford Johnson, Professor of Psychology at The Johns Hopkins University, is to be Editor-in-Chief, and will be assisted by others active in the fields of pediatrics, biochemistry, hygiene and anatomy.

"Child Development" Quarterly

Under the Religious Education Association two conferences are being held. "Conduct Motivation" was the subject of the Middle Atlantic Area Regional Conference held in Baltimore on February 17 and 18. The speakers included representatives of various groups, educators, psychologists and other specialists.

Social Change and Religious Education

The Twenty-Seventh Annual Convention, which will meet in Cleveland, April 23-25, will discuss "Social Changes: A Critical Analysis of Current Social Changes and Their Bearing upon Theories and Methods of Character Education and Religious Education."

The Mental Hygiene Society of Maryland will hold a conference on March 6 and 7 at Baltimore with the cooperation of the American Association of Hospital Social Workers, the American Association of Social Workers, the Child Study Association of America, the Baltimore Medical Society, the State Board of Mental Hygiene and the State Conference of Social Work. The conference will treat with the importance of mental hygiene in reference to the home, school, social work, delinquency, mental deficiency and medicine. The speakers are: Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Director of the Child Study Association of America; Esther L. Richards, Associate Professor of Psychiatry, Johns Hopkins University; Alice J. Rockwell, Clinical Assistant in Psychology of the Mental Hygiene Clinic, University Hospital, Baltimore; E. Van Norman Emery, Yale University; Elizabeth Healy, All-Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic; Leon C. Marshall, Law Institute at Johns Hopkins University; Ralph P. Truitt, Director of Mental Hygiene Clinic, University Hospital, Baltimore; Carrie W. Smith, Superintendent of the Montrose School for Girls, Reisterstown, Maryland; Walter N. Thayer, Superintendent of Prisons, State Department of Public Welfare, Baltimore.

An International Hygiene Congress will be held in Dresden from May 15 to September 30. More

than two hundred scientific associations, the League of Nations, and the individual governments of twenty countries will participate in the exhibition which is a special feature of the Congress.

A study of the racial backgrounds of the various nationalities represented in their groups is being made by the members of the Field Work Committee, a subcommittee of the leaders group of the Child Study Association of America working under the guidance of Miss Margaret J. Quilliard, Director of Field Work. Through the courtesy of several speakers in allied fields, illuminating informal talks have been given on Italian and Negro backgrounds.

Racial Backgrounds and Child Study

On January 23, Miss Florence Cassidy of the Department of Immigration and Foreign Communities of the National Board of the Y. W. C. A., who has had intimate contacts with Italian parents for a number of years, and Leonard Covello, himself an Italian and head of the Italian department at De Witt Clinton High School, discussed the religious and social customs of the Italian people. The history of the Negro was graphically described by Dr. Carter G. Woodson of Washington on February 6. Dr. Woodson, Director of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, author and educator, is particularly well fitted to give insight into the background of his people.

What effect has clothing upon health? A tremendous change in knowledge and point of view is reflected in a "Bibliography on the Relation of Clothing to Health" just published by the United States Department of Agriculture. This remarkable compilation includes 1,184 titles, arranged under a carefully thought out plan covering the physiological and psychological effects of style for children, men and women, the effects of fabric on health, and clothing as a disease carrier. The lists, including many non-English references, go back a century and a half. This is Bulletin No. 62-MP and may be obtained free from the Office of Information, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

Clothing and Health

CHILD STUDY for April
Adolescence

Coming Events

The Child Study Association of America announces the following program of activities:

Special Evening Lecture

Meeting House, Society for Ethical Culture
2 West 64th Street

PARENT PERSONALITIES AND PARENT-CHILD SITUATIONS

Tuesday, February 25, at 8:30 p.m.

Dr. Karl A. Menninger

Lectures

Child Study Association of America
54 West 74th Street

BEHAVIOR IN THE LIGHT OF PSYCHOLOGY AND PHYSIOLOGY

Tuesday, March 4, at 3:30 p.m.

Dr. Karl M. Bowman

SOME HINTS FROM OBJECTIVE PSYCHOLOGY ON THE PARENT-CHILD RELATION

Friday, March 7, at 8:30 p.m.

Dr. Edwin B. Holt

ART FOR CHILDREN

Tuesday, March 18 at 3:30 p.m.

(Speaker to be announced)

RADIO TALKS WEAF FRIDAYS 2:15 P.M.

Will spanking "cure" a child from running into the street?

Questions sent in by parents will be answered every Friday afternoon by staff members of the Child Study Association of America.

Mail questions to WEAF, 711 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Parent Education Conferences

The late winter marks the peak of the lecture and conference program under the auspices of the Child Study Association of America. Although the meeting room at its Headquarters has constantly been taxed to capacity, the stimulation that comes from such contacts should not be confined to this comparatively small group. Through the pages of *CHILD STUDY*, everyone interested in these significant discussions may become participants in a nationwide audience.

The Family, the subject of the evening conference series, was discussed from four different points of view in the meetings which concluded the series.

LeRoy E. Bowman, Chairman of the New York City Recreation Committee, spoke on "The Family and Leisure," on January 20; Dr. Benjamin R. Andrews, Professor of Household Economics, Teachers College, Columbia University, on "Money and Its Influence upon the Interrelations of Family Members," on January 27; Dr. Fritz Wittels, Psychoanalyst of Vienna, Austria, on "Conflicts and Adjustments in the Home," on February 3; and Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Director of the Child Study Association, on "Reeducation and Continuity of Education for Parents," on February 10.

In addition to the series, Professor Robert S. Woodworth, Professor of Psychology, Columbia University, discussed "New and Newer Psychologies" on the afternoon of January 28, and Dr. Frederic M. Thrasher, Assistant Professor of Educational Sociology, New York University, talked on "Adolescent Problems" on the afternoon of February 4.

THE FAMILY AND LEISURE

The one outstanding fact of life, said Mr. Bowman, is change, and our underlying difficulty in thinking about the family is that we have thought of social relations as static and permanent. This is true also of our conception of leisure. Every change in society has been reflected in the family, which is the product of these changes rather than the cornerstone of society. These changes can be listed under three categories; industrial changes, urbanization and increase in the means of communication.

The industrial changes that for the past one hundred and fifty years have been taking women's occupations out of the home have also affected the leisure which they have created. Above all, the materialistic and technological changes that came with industrial revolution have shaped leisure-time activities into patterns like those of the industries which have given us leisure. Furthermore, leisure has followed these industries out of the home. What used to be family leisure is now city leisure, which means commercialized and largely passive recreation. The family can no

longer exercise control over the recreation of the young, which should be placed under the supervision of the community.

It is important for us to understand that we are now passing through a transition period in which the changes are more accelerated than ever before. The apparent disorganization of presentday society is the price of a bigger, sounder, better organized society of the future. The beginnings of this social reorganization are evident in our new understanding of children, out of which are developing new principles of education and law. This understanding must be carried still further in order to help us to build up a community controlled reaction toward leisure. In fact, we should try to abolish leisure by getting rid of the idea that it is the *summum bonum* of existence.

Philosophically and theoretically, the distinction between leisure and work is absurd. The adult as well as the child should be happy at his work and not require the compensatory activities which constitute the leisure of today. Ideals are a by-product of a well proportioned, integrated life and do not come by being consciously stressed as such. Deliberate, objectively purposeful control of leisure, which to many seems desirable today, will pass as society progresses to an understanding of leisure as a part of man's daily work—the way he expresses whatever he does that holds his interest and fulfills the deepest needs.

THE FAMILY AND MONEY

Family attitudes toward money have meaning as an indication of all-round adjustment, according to Dr. Andrews. Inasmuch as wholesome money conditions in a family are likely to parallel other wholesome personal relationships, the question of money's influence on family interrelationships is a very fundamental one. Though our society is based in part on a system of prices in which we are constantly buying and selling, each of us lives in a kin group where money is not taken for services. Yet the kin group survives by its total relation to the price system; the very structure and functioning of the family reveal money at work everywhere as a measure of exchange, as a storehouse of value and as a basis of future action.

A comprehensive view of money and the family would consider its relations to the family's three fundamental functions: child rearing or family building, family maintenance or economic support, personality development or the social life of the family group. The family that gives life, maintains life and enriches life is conditioned largely by the money income and the practical wisdom with which money management problems are met. A social analysis would show that the marriage age, size of families, quality of family life, child

development and adult happiness are directly affected by this economic factor of money and its use.

There is a need in our homes and schools for a kind of training which we may call economic education or personal finance education, so directed as to promote wholesome family life. We must use education to promote comfortable and effective money relations in the home as we use education to promote health or leisure or vocational skill. The individualized but jointly centralized family of today must find a money program that expresses its personality adjustments. One difficulty is the carry-over of money adjustments from the earlier type of family that centered its authority in the man who held property, directed work and controlled resources. Today the wise handling of incomes is probably best achieved in the average family by joint bank accounts and joint planning. A family council for the discussion of family problems should bring about joint decisions and increase the feeling of mutuality and happiness. Parents should further their children's financial education as much as possible through sharing with them their own money experiences. An allowance with sufficient freedom to promote self-dependence and power in making decisions seems the best means of learning money values before self-support begins. A start-in-life fund for personal savings, money gifts and earnings is also desirable for every boy and girl. The child's own money should lead him, with the aid of parental counsel, into real investment experiences, such as the postal savings bank, the ordinary savings bank, ownership of a building loan share or a bond or stock. Property ownership should be similarly experienced through ownership of his own wardrobe, toys, tools, room furnishings and books. Real ownership experiences, carried as far as common sense justifies, will build some business competence and at the same time promote greater family fellowship and harmony.

THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

The home is not always a source of maladjustment. Dr. Wittels emphasized the fact that the home is also the milieu of the child who is well adjusted. His credo is that the family is the best place in which to bring up children. But he pointed out two errors which are made by parents in general: that of considering children as property and of using punishment as a corrective.

Concerning the first, Dr. Wittels maintained that every mother unconsciously assumes a possessive attitude toward her child. This is harmful, despite the fact that the possessive feeling of the mother is wrapped in love, for it involves the child in what is virtually a form of slavery. To educate the child toward the

freedom that is his right, the mother must abolish this property feeling toward the child by bringing it into her own consciousness. In the normal family, this feeling is reciprocal—that is, the children also feel that they own their parents. The dangers and absurdity of this possessive attitude of parents are evident in the divorce courts, where the children are considered a part of the divorce contract, regardless of their rights.

Punishment is a moot question, for many parents consider it necessary at times as a deterrent. As practiced by most parents, it is in great part naked, though generally unconscious, sadism. The best one can say in favor of punishment is that it gives the child an opportunity for atonement, which reinstates him into the parents' love. A young child may acquire a masochistic attitude toward punishment when he senses its real nature. He will then enjoy being naughty because he wants to be punished.

Another stumbling block in the parent-child relationship is the sex life of the child. Unless the parents help the child in his instinctive investigations into sex, the child will be forced to build up his own theories, which may result in fears and psycho-neuroses.

There are many other ways in which the home may be the source of maladjustment in children. Often the parent shows a preference for one child, which will deeply affect the psychical development of another child. It has been found that the children of highly gifted parents have greater problems to meet than the children of commonplace parents, because of the difficulties of identification and imitation. Each child has the right to be treated as an individual personality with desires and ambitions of his own. He wants to be taken seriously, to have his questions answered honestly, to be accepted as an intelligent member of his family group. This should not be a difficult task for parents who are endowed with the love instinct, but it does require analysis and understanding of the parents' own unconscious desires and motivations.

EDUCATION FOR FAMILY LIVING

Concluding the series, Mrs. Gruenberg reviewed the general trends of parent education as developed in the five preceding lectures. She emphasized the utter futility of a fixed program at the present stage of parent education, in view of the rapid changes which are taking place in modern life. There is a wide gap between the traditional points of view of the older adults in the community and the new procedures practiced by the intelligent young parents of today, who so far have little to unlearn.

Parent education began many years ago in religious meetings, where much reliance was placed upon

prayer. Then came the rapid development of scientific data as the basis of child study. Recently, a tendency has arisen to swing back to greater emphasis upon spiritual values as the important factors in parent-child relationships.

Mrs. Gruenberg pointed out how urgent it is for parents to subject themselves to systematic education in order to counteract the influence of some of the literature of the day, which is not authentic and may disseminate false principles and techniques.

The chairman of the meeting, Professor Helen T. Woolley, summed up the entire series by making the significant observation that parent education is based upon two facts: first, the fact that children themselves are continuously developing and parents must be continuously preparing themselves for the next stage in their development; secondly, the fact that parent education is merely one phase of adult education, which continues, or should, till the end of life. It seems worth while to organize education for adults in view of Dr. Thorndike's recent experiments, which prove that adults maintain their capacity to learn at approximately the same level between the ages of twenty-five and fifty-five. Parents, Dr. Woolley concluded, must concern themselves with the realization that they are the community and that the kind of world their children live in is determined by the kind of world they create for other children. Furthermore, they will function more efficiently in the larger social settings if they can satisfactorily deal with problems met in the inner circle of family life.

NEW AND NEWER PSYCHOLOGIES

By making an historical survey of the development of psychological theories, Dr. Woodworth showed the significance and trends of the new psychology in relation to its background. Modern psychology as such began with the speculative or armchair school of the middle nineteenth century and developed during the years between 1880 and 1900 into experimental psychology.

The year 1900 marks the beginning of what is popularly known as "the new psychology," the outstanding characteristic of which is the removal of the center of gravity from intellectual processes to *affects* or emotional processes. Sigmund Freud was the first to stress the importance of desire and emotion in the study of the psychology of motivation. His emphasis on the mechanism of sex desire as applicable to the other emotions differentiates his system from those of his contemporaries and successors. William McDougall was allied to Freud in his belief that the older psychology had neglected the feelings and emotions and that, in order to understand social behavior, the

psychologist must study human motivation; this he traced to the instincts. This theory of the instincts as the motive force in behavior had a vogue of ten years, but has since been rejected because of lack of evidence in support of the existence of native, unlearned unitary "instincts" and because of the increasing emphasis by psychologists upon the learning processes.

In 1910, the revolt against the old introspective psychology culminated in behaviorism, which limited scientific data to what could be based upon laboratory experiment. John B. Watson, its chief protagonist, studied motor behavior by determining the relation between stimuli and responses. Experiments of Pavlov, the physiologist, have been the basis of many of Dr. Watson's findings concerning the "conditioned reflex."

Simultaneous with the growth of behaviorism was that of gestalt psychology in Germany. This differs in stressing total patterns, in contradistinction to simple, elementary processes, as the basis of behavior. Its chief exponents, Köhler, Koffka and R. M. Ogden, believe that learning takes place all at once, as a single pattern, and not by approximations of trial and error. This is contrary to the theory of the conditioned reflex, but both have elements of truth, with experimental verification of their views. The gestalt psychology will probably gain increasing usefulness in helping children to make desirable responses to situations by seeing these as total patterns. Analogous to the gestalt theory is that of Spranger, also a German, who likewise stresses the necessity of understanding individual behavior as part of a total setting.

In concluding, Dr. Woodworth pointed out that the foregoing schools of psychology do not represent all the contributions that have been made in the past fifty years to the body of modern psychological knowledge, but are the outstanding departures from the older psychologies.

ADOLESCENT PROBLEMS

Dr. Thrasher viewed the common elements of adolescence from the standpoint of the sociologist rather than the psychologist. Beginning with the premise that the genius of the human species is plasticity, he pointed out that the prolonged infancy of man is an important factor in determining the potentialities of the human race. Variations are largely individual and not due to either race, nationality or sex. Even biological differences are being minimized as influencing human behavior; heredity supplies the plastic material and environment the setting which provides the developmental factors. Variations are due largely to differences in experience.

Any program must deal with the *whole* child, as a biological, psychological, sociological unit. The pri-

mary function of education is to take the plastic material and develop it so as to conserve and promote the social heritage of civilization. The secondary function of education is to promote the happiness of the individual by preparing him to fit into and function in his community. Though formal education has received greater emphasis, it is through informal education, which means all the social groups with which he comes in contact, that the child acquires the habits and attitudes that determine his behavior.

The former concept of the child was "a social atom in a social vacuum." We now recognize the importance of studying the child not only as an individual but as a person—an individual plus his standing in his social group. This includes his home and family, the local neighborhood, his education, recreational and religious contacts, his employment, his race and nationality. All these factors must be organized into the kind of setting that will furnish the most wholesome environment for the child's development.

Adolescence, as a part of the growth process, is a period of struggle which begins when the child tries to emancipate himself from adult control and ends when he is a completely self-determining individual. The objective of the adolescent is to become an independent person articulating harmoniously in his social world. One of the obstacles to attainment is the emotional fixation of the parent who attempts to extend his control beyond the protective and educational functions by projecting his or her own thwarted wishes into the child's life. The adolescent is particularly susceptible to the approval of his own group, whose standards necessarily differ from those of the adult social world. This difference is further complicated by the conflicts of cultural and social standards that are constantly multiplying in modern life. The increased means of communication and range of mobility also add to the complexity of the modern adolescent's world. The confusion of moral and ethical standards would make character education difficult even if we knew a technique for it.

The solution is not to isolate the child but to be prepared to give him a rational philosophy of life. The most important concept for him to get is that of his own rôle in the group in which he functions. We must promote a concept that will give him morale and self-confidence, since his conception of himself will determine his conduct. Every child must participate in a social group in which his personality is respected and his preferences and interests are recognized. To help him to become a well rounded personality, Dr. Thrasher therefore concluded, requires knowledge of the child's social world, and of his conception of it, his rôle in it, his conception of his rôle, and the adult's conception of his rôle.

Parents' Questions

Early and late in a child's progress toward maturity his parents are confronted with questions such as these.

Question: Should a two-year-old be able to feed himself without help?

Discussion: In the whole matter of establishing self-help we must be careful not to confuse the learning process with the growing process. Given opportunity or urging, children may learn to feed themselves with fairly good technique at a year, or even earlier. This must not, however, be taken to mean that the child is grown up to the age of self-help, and should master all the other techniques. As a rule, a child of two will be fairly at home in handling cup and spoon, provided he has been given an opportunity to become so. But there will be times when, possibly because of fatigue or the desire to regress to the comfort of unfavorable behavior, he will want adult help in feeding. At such times, the glib dictum that "a boy of your age should feed himself" will have little meaning. Above all we will do well to avoid comparisons, keeping in mind that techniques which one child can accomplish at two years, another cannot, and that even the so-called norm in these matters must be "taken with a grain of salt."

Question: An only child, aged three, who has been somewhat precocious in his walking and general ability to handle himself, has suddenly reverted to going about on "all fours." On the icy pavements of city streets this becomes a menace to his health in addition to being a handicap to his play relations with children his own age. How can this be handled?

Discussion: Such a manifestation is likely to be very transitory, provided that the child does not get the impression that the parent is concerned, and, in itself, is therefore not serious. It may, however, point toward certain difficulties needing adjustment. There is the possibility that his very precocity in walking and other abilities has resulted in (or perhaps been caused by) pressure from adults to establish habits of self-help before the child was really ready for them. Striving to live up to the responsibilities expected of him, the child might resort to childish ways of escape from this pressure. Thus his regression to the baby way of "all fours" might be an unconscious protest against the

The fact that certain problems are related to the growing up process is obscured by their close connection with all sorts of situations. They are not confined to any one age or phase of development, and parents have constantly to be readjusting their own standards and expectations.

adult demands for precocious maturity. Other possible explanations may be found in the child's social contacts with his peers.

Question: A mother is concerned because her four-year-old boy is "undependable." Though forbidden to eat candy

between meals, he cannot be trusted within reach of a candy box. Neither putting him "on his honor" nor punishing his depredations has been effective.

Discussion: Are we not expecting too much self-control of a four-year-old when we ask him to resist temptations or even to remember admonitions over a long period? Can we expect a four-year-old to understand such an abstract virtue as "honor"? We must learn to grade the child's temptations in accordance with his ability to withstand them. In the particular case in question it would be better to keep candy safely out of sight than to subject the child to temptation beyond his powers of resistance. At a later age this same child will learn how to defer present satisfactions for an understood reason or an abstract principle. It may also be wise to find out whether there are physical reasons—possibly the child may need more sugar than his diet provides.

Question: At what age should a child be allowed to go to school alone?

Discussion: Obviously the location of the school will play a large part in this matter. A rural or suburban school may be accessible with little or no dangerous traffic crossings. In some city locations, on the other hand, there are crossings to be maneuvered which tax even adult alertness. But whatever the geographical conditions to be taken into account, we will have to be guided primarily not so much by *chronological age* as by the type of child with whom we must deal. Some children have their feet more firmly on the ground than others; some develop at an earlier age than others the ability to handle concrete situations—such as street traffic or chance encounters. Nor is it possible to say in advance, to any child, "On your sixth birthday you may go unescorted to school." There must be a gradual development of independence

in this as in other kinds of self-help. We can begin by letting him cross streets alone, but under our watching. Then we can gradually cut down our escortage to the passing of a certain corner. In this way we can best judge when the child will be able safely to go to school unattended.

Question: Can we safely delegate to a twelve-year-old responsibility for two younger children of the family during the parents' absence?

Discussion: If the younger children are cooperative the responsibility of the older may involve nothing more than a safety measure for an emergency. If the children are compatible and have a wholesome relationship, and if the twelve-year-old is a dependable and emotionally stable child, he can be trusted with such responsibility. But responsibility for the conduct of others is something we can expect only of the fully mature. If, therefore, the responsibility involves also a delegation of authority we may well hesitate to place a twelve-year-old in such a position of power. Not only may it seriously confuse and complicate the brother-sister relationships, but also it imposes upon the older a type of responsibility for which he must feel—whether consciously or unconsciously—his own inadequacy.

Question: A boy of seven continues to share a bedroom with his nine-year-old sister. The mother feels that they should now sleep in separate rooms but since this involves serious changes in living arrangements, she wonders whether this change may not safely be deferred until the girl's adolescence.

Discussion: Apart from any question of sex consciousness the sharing of a room presents certain inevitable difficulties under any conditions. These difficulties are intensified when the two persons are as far apart in their interests and development as children of different sexes at these ages must be. A girl of nine normally has very little in common, either emotionally or intellectually, with a boy of seven. They have different playthings, different books, and different friends whom they wish to invite home to play with them. Thus the integration of the personality of each demands both privacy and personal ownership—a place in which each may feel secure in his or her own domain.

As concerns the sexual maturing, children differ greatly as to the chronological age at which feelings of modesty and withdrawal will develop. These emotions may come early or late, but under normal conditions they will come at some time. They need not

be hurried or anticipated, but they must be respected when they do appear.

Question: A seventeen-year-old girl has selected a coeducational college. Her parents, disturbed by her rather overbalanced interest in "boy friends," feel that they will defer this kind of interest by sending her to a woman's college.

Discussion: It is idle to try to stem the tide of sex maturing by the mechanical device of separating the sexes. A girl whose interest in the other sex is already strong will be unhappy without boy companionship, and will probably resort to furtive means of escape from what must seem to her an unwarranted deprivation. Opportunity for wholesome and approved companionship with boys, under sympathetic guidance, will be more likely to stabilize these relationships than would segregation. A good coeducational college would provide such opportunity, maintaining, at the same time, a healthy balance of academic interests. At seventeen a girl may be quite mature in sex and social development. She still needs parental guidance—but she cannot tolerate coercion.

Question: Despite a three-year difference in age, two sisters have always shared all their activities. Now, however, at the ages of ten and thirteen, their mother hesitates to permit the elder certain activities which she might have, but which the ten-year-old could not share. She fears that such privileges will make for jealousy and spoil the happy relationship of the two.

Discussion: At this age there is an accentuation of age difference that is much more marked than in the early years of childhood. The emotional development and intellectual interests of a thirteen-year-old are bound to be utterly different than those of a ten-year-old, no matter how closely the two have been identified previously. It would be unfair to the elder to deprive her of the activities which belong to her age level. Furthermore, she is entitled to the privileges, just as she must accept the responsibilities, of her position of seniority in the family setting. The younger child can be helped to understand the situation in terms of changing interests rather than of special privilege. A definite effort should be made to introduce for her, too, new activities and interests at her own age level, and suitable companions with whom to share these activities. An interruption of the close companionship of the sisters at this time seems inevitable, and need have no harmful effect upon their friendly relationship.

IN THE MAGAZINES

Are Athletics a Nuisance? By Karl E. Whinnery. *Mind and Body*, December, 1929.

Clear analysis of athletics for high school and college students as to physical, social and character developmental qualities.

Can a Teacher of Young Children Carry on Research? By Elizabeth Skelding Moore. *Childhood Education*, January, 1930.

It is the writer's contention that the teacher is in an excellent position to gather data by observation and experiment. Valuable suggestions are given.

The Child Who Does Not Sing. By Esther Bahls. *Childhood Education*, January, 1930.

Among the reasons why a child may not sing, the writer mentions lack of musical home environment, meager musical inheritance, lack of skill in reproduction, defective tonal sense. She presents a plan for handling the last two problems.

How to Treat the Growing Pains of Youth. By Edgar James Swift. *The Parents' Magazine*, January, 1930.

The first requisite on the part of the adult is to recognize and understand the changed conditions in which youth finds itself.

Keeping the Convalescent Busy. By Mary M. Atwater. *The Parents' Magazine*, February, 1930.

Practical advice is given on how to interest the convalescent child in manual activities. The author also calls attention to methods and technique. A good bibliography is appended.

Movietone and Radio Stimulate Love of Good Music. By Peter W. Dykema. *Teachers College Record* (news section), January, 1930.

The development of music by means of two streams; appreciation for the great majority through contact with great musicians by means of mechanical music, and "a better type of instruction arising from the fact that people themselves know more what good music is." The original article appeared in the *New York Times*, December 1, 1929.

Mothers, Boys and Euthenics. By Charlotte Sherwood Aiken. *Journal of the American Association of University Women*, January, 1930.

An enthusiastic mother's report of the family's reaction to "euthenics," a course offered in the summer session at Vassar for students, parents and their children. It furnishes the reader with a clear picture of the educational features and processes.

The Need for Parent Education in a Public School Program. By Flora M. Thurston. *Childhood Education*, January, 1930.

Describes the interdependence and need for "harmonious interaction" of school and home for the benefit of the child, and the relation of parent education to the school.

Parents Present Behavior Problems, Too. By Dr. Lois Hayden Meek. *Teachers College Record* (news section), January, 1930.

The original article by Dr. Meek appeared in the *New York Herald Tribune*, December 1, 1929, pointing to the social economic changes in the last two decades, the problems evolved therefrom and the sources of help to which the parent can turn.

Pioneer Education in Poland. *The New Era*, January, 1930.

The entire issue is devoted to the educational activities which are developed alongside the changes in government since the World War.

Shall We Let Our Children Fly? By Clarence D. Chamberlin. *The Parents' Magazine*, January, 1930.

A timely article helpful to both the troubled parent and the "rising generation" on "how to safeguard the air-minded" without thwarting this natural interest.

The Strategic Position of the Kindergarten in American Education. By Patty Smith Hill. *Childhood Education*, December, 1929.

The strategic position is based on the formative period of the kindergarten age; the opportunity to give the child his first outside-the-home impression; and the opportunity it affords to become acquainted with the home through the parent.

Books

Aren't We All?

The Human Mind. By Karl A. Menninger. Alfred A. Knopf. 1930. 447 pages.

Psychiatrists have long intimated that the problems which concern them and the cases which constantly crowd the clinics and the hospitals are the stories of people who are "even as you and I." Theoretically this is a simple and straightforward concept. We have been trained to accept the idea of intelligence as an unbroken curve ranging between feeble-mindedness and genius. We think of sickness and health on the physical side as being different aspects of one picture rather than as two sharply defined states, and now comes in graphic and dramatic style a portrayal of this same idea in relation to mental health.

Dr. Karl A. Menninger has given us a comprehensive study of human personalities in his recent book "The Human Mind." Not only does Dr. Menninger draw generously upon his vast clinical experience, as well as upon the case material of his colleagues in psychiatry, but with rare skill he amplifies the text with pertinent and profuse illustrative material from the literature of all ages and many countries. The Bible, Shakespeare, the Spoon River Anthology and the daily press bear witness to the fact that, as the Quaker lady said, "All's queer but thee and me."

The book is intended primarily for the layman. The very fact that it has been chosen as an offering of the Literary Guild indicates that it is intended to appeal to a wide range of intelligent but technically untrained readers. One cannot doubt that this hope will be amply justified.

The chapter dealing with personalities, or as the author puts it, "A synthetic section dealing with the external appearances of the assembled machine in action and particularly in disaster," is as absorbing and as exciting as a succession of brilliantly written short stories—which in a certain sense, it is. In this section personality types are grouped in categories that have the sanction of good common sense as well as science. The reader is led gently but insistently to the conclusion that "what we call the 'disease' is the logical outgrowth of the particular personality in its efforts to solve a particular problem (or perhaps several problems). The disease, the psychosis, is a part of him, not an intruder, or an invasion from without."

One of the outstanding attributes of the book is a fair minded attitude toward the various schools of

thought in the interpretation and treatment of mental diseases. Although the author employs psychoanalysis in treatment of certain cases, he exhibits a refreshingly temperate and balanced attitude toward the Freudian school. Upon reading this book, one has the feeling which a layman might have on seeing a rather fine piece of sculpture—that the artist knows his anatomy thoroughly and builds his work of art upon it as a sure foundation though the skeleton does not appear in the finished object. Similarly one feels throughout that Dr. Menninger is a thoroughgoing scientist who has the additional ability to put his scientific findings into popular form.

There will always be critics to disagree with this or that bit of modeling in the sculpture and of interpretation in the case history. But the meaning is clear and significant in the eyes of the less captious observer.

Perhaps there is a quality here which will do even more to assure its popularity than this unusual combination of sound science and popular presentation. This is a sense of humanity, of fellow feeling, which goes far deeper than style. The whole book is so thoroughly permeated with sympathy and understanding that every reader will constantly be seeing others as well as himself on every page. It does more than simply delineate the foibles and failures of human beings; for it sets them a positive goal to which they may work with some hope of realization. This is best expressed in Dr. Menninger's own introductory definition of a healthy mind:

"Let us define mental health as the adjustment of human beings to the world and to each other with a maximum of effectiveness and happiness. Not just efficiency, or just contentment—or the grace of obeying the rules of the game cheerfully. It is all of these together. It is the ability to maintain an even temper, an alert intelligence, socially considerate behavior, and a happy disposition. This, I think, is a healthy mind."

No review of this book would be adequate that did not call attention to two factors: First, the skill and taste with which the literary excerpts have been chosen and assembled; and second, the delightful humor which pervades the entire work. To the intelligent lay reader who is unwilling or unable to master a technical treatise but who none the less has an intelligent interest in behavior mechanisms, this book brings a real message. It can be read with much interest and no little entertainment, and digested with profit.

MARION M. MILLER

The Discipline of Sex

(Continued from page 173)

to individual but tend none the less to take typical forms under the influence of social forces. Of necessity, the most potent symbols of intimacy are those that lead to the touching and handling of bodies. To put the matter crudely, we are not in the habit of embracing people to whom we are indifferent and of standing frigidly aloof from those that we are psychologically intimate with, unless, of course, there is a conflict that paralyzes expression.

Now, of all known forms of intimacy among human beings the sex relation is naturally the most far-reaching. It necessarily takes its place in the unconscious series of symbolisms of intimacy as the most valued and the final symbol of all. I do not claim that all human beings are equally sensitive to symbolisms of this sort, but there is enough of a psychological common ground in most of us to make it impossible for the normal person to transgress the unformulated laws of symbolic expression beyond a certain point.

NOT SO BLACK AS PAINTED

In sober fact the erotic landscape in contemporary America is by no means as depressing as these observations may lead one to believe. I have wanted to point out the psychological fallacies in the contemporary cult of sex freedom and the ultimate implications of those fallacies rather than to give an accurate description of contemporary sex life. Sex irregularities, while numerous, are not necessarily as indicative as they seem to be of the deeper-lying set of our erotic philosophy. Unless I sadly misread the *mores* of America, there are many reassuring signs that the reign of so-called Puritan morality is not likely to come to a sudden end even among the sophisticated and that, while the negative elements of that morality are sure to be cast aside by the intelligent and their rigor mitigated by all, its essential core will survive.

Europe may laugh and shrug its shoulders but America can be shockingly stubborn on what she feels to be the fundamentals of life. It would be nothing short of a cultural disaster if America as a whole surrendered to continental European feeling and practice. With religion in none too healthy a state and with the æsthetic life rudimentary and imitative, America needs an irrational faith in the value of love and of fidelity in love as perhaps no other part of the occidental world needs it today.

The moral atmosphere in America is only superficially similar to that of continental Europe. One of the surest signs of the essential difference in out-

look is the rapidly increasing divorce rate. Bewailed by domestic moralists and deplored by our European visitors, the ease of obtaining divorce in America is actually an indication of our restless psychological health. Were the institution of marriage and the family actually divorced in sentiment from the sphere of sex indulgence, there would be no reason why a tolerance of marital infidelity should not come to be accepted in America as it has long been in France. But any one who imagines that America can with a clear conscience settle down to the reasonable and gracious distribution of individual pleasures and familial ceremonies that seems to suit the French genius knows very little about the American temper.

TOWARD SOUNDER ADJUSTMENTS

The very youthful intellectuals who are clamorous in their determination to "go the limit" are unable in practice to "play the game," for they cannot learn the rules. Do what one will, sex relations in America have a way of calling up romantic images and implications of fidelity that make this country seem a mysterious, an incredible, realm to the emancipated foreigner. Incompatibility of husband and wife of necessity leads more speedily to divorce than in sophisticated Europe. I am leaving Russia out of the picture, for we know too little about the psychological realities of contemporary Russia to speak of it with profit.

To put it bluntly, the "free" woman of sophisticated America, whether poetess or saleslady, has a hard job escaping from the uncomfortable feeling that she is really a safe, and therefore a dishonest, prostitute. The charge seems unreasonable to the mind, but the spirit cannot wholly throw off the imputation. The battle shows in the hard, slightly unfocused, glitter of the eye and in the hollow laugh. And one can watch the gradual deterioration of personality that seems to set in in many of our young women with the premature adoption of the new sophisticated sex standards.

AMERICAN ATTITUDES

Psychiatrists have often burned their fingers in this matter and perhaps there is nothing they need to keep more steadily in mind than that in proffering advice in matters of sex they are addressing themselves not merely to intelligence and to desire but to certain obscure and unacknowledged values that cannot be flouted with impunity. If they are of foreign birth and culture, it would be well for them to take a little more seriously some of the "resistances" they encounter and to ponder, on occasion, the possibility that in exploding a personal "complex" they may incidentally be shattering an "ideal." That American men and

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Monday, March 17—Plant Life—Mrs. Ellen Eddy Shaw
Curator of Elementary Instruction, Brooklyn Botanic Garden

Monday, March 24—The Animal World—Dr. Clyde Fisher
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women coarsen on a fare that seems to agree with the sophisticates of the Old World is both a warning and a reason for optimism. It points the way to a reaction of feeling that Europe will not understand.

Closely connected with this stubborn unwillingness of the typical American to save marriage and the integrity of the family at the cost of erotic honesty is his peculiar unwillingness or inability to make a fine art of sex indulgence. The "kick" of sex freedom in America lies precisely in its being "sin," not an honest way of life. Americans make poor Don Juans. Nor does the graceful and accomplished *hetaira* of French life seem to flourish on our stubborn soil. Many young women have tried the part but even the most successful of our amateurs in the erotic arts seem compelled by the very nature of the culture in which they have been reared to pay a heavy price. Our intellectual mistresses of sin play a sadly pedantic part, their ardors are in the head rather than in the heart zone.

NEW CONVENTIONS THAT WILL PRESERVE PERENNIAL VALUES

Americans tend, in the most disconcerting way, to be both realistic and conservative in the matter of sex. That psychological health demands sex satisfaction at a much earlier period than the general postponement of marriage makes possible is coming to be generally recognized. It is clear, however, that a true tolerance for illicit relationships of a promiscuous sort is not likely to become prevalent. Such suggested institutions as the companionate marriage lead one rather to suspect that America is feeling its way toward a loosening of the institutional rigors and responsibilities of marriage by the growth of new types of sex relationship.

It is difficult to say just what is likely to emerge from the present period of unrest and experimentation, but one thing seems certain. America will not be a docile pupil of Europe, and the sophisticates of this country who are taken in by the apparently easy solutions of their European brethren, whom they so vainly admire, are likely to find themselves in a strangely unsympathetic clime. That new institutions of an erotic and marital nature are slowly maturing is obvious. It is my belief that it is no less obvious that these institutions, whatever their forms may be, will not mean a surrender to license but will have for their object, however obscurely and indirectly, the saving of love and the perpetuation of romantic intimacy and of the ideal of fidelity by those who are capable of this intimacy. And it is more likely than not that the average American, for a long time to come, will have the delusion, if it is nothing else, that he is capable of just this experience.

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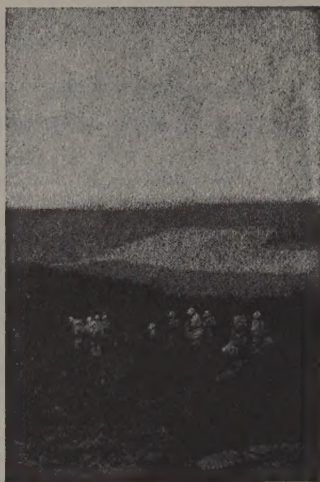
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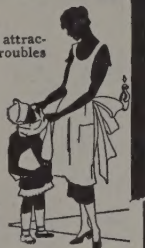
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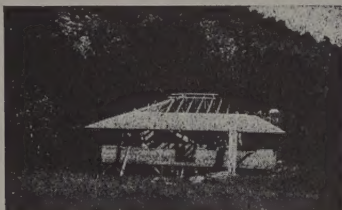
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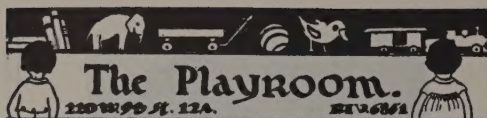
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